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QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CYPRUS

Note verbale dated 22 July 1991 from the Permanent Mission of Turkey to the United Nations Office at Geneva addressed to the Centre for Human Rights

The Permanent Mission of Turkey to the United Nations Office at Geneva and other international organizations in Switzerland presents its compliments to the Secretariat of the Commission on Human Rights (Centre for Human Rights) and has the honour to enclose herewith an information note prepared by the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, in reply to the Greek Cypriot allegations contained in document E/CN.4/1991/84.

It is kindly requested that this note and its enclosure be circulated as a document of the forty-eighth session of the Commission on Human Rights under agenda item 12 (a).

GE.91-13812/3801B

NOTE ON THE GREEK CYPRIOT PAPER CIRCULATED ON 7 MARCH 1991 AS A DOCUMENT OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, E/CN.4/1991/84, DENYING THEIR HOSTILE ACTIVITIES AND ATROCITIES AGAINST THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PEOPLE AND DISTORTING BASIC FACTS RELATING TO CYPRUS

Introduction

1. This note does not intend to show that the Cyprus question started in 1963 with the Greek Cypriot onslaught on the Turkish Cypriot co-founder partner of the bi-communal "Republic of Cyprus" with the aim of achieving Enosis; or that, failing to achieve its objective, the Greek Cypriot side is at present continuing its military build-up and pursuing a policy of hostility against the Turkish Cypriot people, aimed at hindering their trade and communication with the rest of the world and isolating them in the political, economic and commercial spheres as well as in the fields of tourism and sports; or that, in pursing these hostile activities, the Greek Cypriot side tramples upon every human right of the Turkish Cypriot people. These facts are well known and acknowledged.

2. This note, however, does intend to dispel the smokescreen over the Cyprus question created by the Greek Cypriot administration and, by bringing into the limelight the age-old Greek Cypriot intentions on Cyprus, point out the reason why the Cyprus question remained unsolved in its twenty-eighth year. No matter how the Greek Cypriot propaganda machine is carefully crafted to conceal the realities, facts relating to Cyprus speak for themselves. It cannot be denied, as the Greek Cypriots do, that the Turkish Cypriot people, liberated in 1974, with legitimate Turkish intervention, from direct human rights violations perpetrated against them by the Greek Cypriot side in the name of Enosis, are still prevented by the Greek Cypriot administration from the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties vis-à-vis the outside world. That is to say, the Greek Cypriots, being deprived in 1974 from oppressing the Turkish Cypriot people within Cyprus, have after 1974 concentrated on isolating them from the rest of the world.

I. The bi-communal, partnership "Republic of Cyprus" was destroyed by the Greek Cypriot wing of that Republic, denied by the Greek Cypriot representative in document E/CN.4/1991/84

3. It is common knowledge for those who are familiar with the subject that the Cyprus Constitution of 1960 stipulated political equality and administrative partnership for the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot peoples, and depicted them as the two co-founder partners of the "Republic of Cyprus". The 1960 Agreements had thus brought about a partnership State and not a Cypriot nation, as Archbishop Makarios pronounced several times. It was this partnership which Makarios decided and planned to destory because Enosis was outlawed for the sake of a permanent binational independence.

4. It is equally common knowledge that the Greek Cypriot onslaught in 1963 on the Turkish Cypriot wing of this bi-communal republic, which resulted in the ejection of the latter from the Government, put an end to the legitimacy of the "Republic of Cyprus" emanating from its bi-communal nature. The outcome was an all-Greek Cypriot regime in the guise of the "Government of the Republic of Cyprus". From that moment onwards Makarios denied all our vested

rights in the Constitution; he declared that the Agreements and the Constitution of Cyprus were dead and buried; he then offered the Turkish Cypriots minority rights. It is indeed interesting to recall that Archbishop Makarios, on his return to the island soon after signing the London and Zurich Agreements which gave birth to the "Republic of Cyprus", is on record as saying that these agreements were only a stepping stone for Enosis; he repeated this in all his public speeches by referring to the "national aim" or "national aspiration", by which he meant Enosis. This announcement by Makarios was indeed a message of his irredentist aim to destroy the "Republic of Cyprus". And when it was destroyed in 1963, Makarios was able to sell to the Security Council the "Greek Cypriot Republic" thus created as the legitimate "Republic of Cyprus". Concerned with the bloody and urgent situation in Cyprus due to the Greek Cypriot attacks on the defenceless Turkish Cypriot people, and in urgent hurry to send a United Nations force to Cyprus to prevent bloodshed, the Security Council in March 1964 hurriedly passed resolution 186 (1964) authorizing the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping force in the "Republic of Cyprus" which legally and morally did not exist. This resolution for 2 1/2 decades formed the basis of other resolutions on Cyprus, hence aggravating the injury initially inflicted on the Turkish Cypriot people.

A. Expulsion of Turkish Cypriots from the "Government" and "House of Representatives" denied by the Greek Cypriot representative

5. In spite of the documented evidence and reports of the then United Nations Secretary-General, unequivocally verifying the explusion of all the Turkish Cypriots from the House of Representatives and their posts in the Government, the Greek Cypriot representative, in an effort to cover up the gross violation of the human and constitutional rights of the Turkish Cypriot people, alleged that they had withdrawn from the Government under directions from Turkey. This is absurd and baseless.

6. The relevant reports of the then United Nations Secretary-General to the Security Council clearly show that the Turkish Cypriots did not withdraw, but were expelled both from the House of Representatives and the Government.

B. Report of the United Nations Secretary-General on the "House of Representatives"

7. The United Nations Secretary-General's report S/6569 of 29 July 1965, paragraph 7 reads: "The Turkish Cypriot members requested UNFICYP to extend its good offices to enable them to receive information about the time of meeting of the House, and to make arrangements for the Turkish Cypriot members to attend such meetings in safety. They specified that, if officially invited and notified about matters to be considered, as required by the Constitution, they would be prepared to attend Parliament on all questions, not only on the two bills now pending."

8. Paragraph 9 reads: "... Mr. Clerides stated that unless the Turkish Cypriot members accepted the conditions laid down by them, he found it pointless to supply to them copies of the pending bills".

9. The following is an extract from paragraph 11 of that report: "... He [Mr. Clerides, the then President of the House] made it plain that unless

agreement was reached on these matters, he would not permit the Turkish Cypriot members to attend the House ... . He subsequently stated that in his opinion the Turkish Cypriot members had no legal standing any more in the House." Ironically, the issue on which "agreement" of the Turkish Cypriots was sought was the unconditional abandonment of their constitutional rights in the House concerning separate majorities.

C. Report of the United Nations Secretary-General on the return of Turkish Cypriot civil servants to their offices

10. Paragraph 108 of report S/5950 of 10 September 1964 reads: "UNFICYP authorities ... on several occasions raised it with the Cyprus [Greek Cypriot] Government. All negotiations on the possible re-employment of the Turkish Cypriot Government civil servants in Nicosia and their financial compensation from January 1964 have ended in a deadlock up to now, as it is considered by the [Greek Cypriot] Government to be a highly political matter linked closely with the final settlement of the Cyprus question."

11. These reports are clear enough, even to the Greek Cypriot representative, that Turkish Cypriots were expelled from the "Government and the House".

D. The provisional participation of some Turkish Cypriot judges in some of the courts

12. The following words by one of the senior Turkish Cypriot judges concerned will shed light on this issue and deprive the Greek Cypriot representative from using this issue as a propaganda stick against the Turkish Cypriot people.

> "The Turkish Cypriot judges attended the courts till 2 June 1966, through the efforts of the then neutral President of the High Court Mr. Wilson, on the understanding that the provisions of the Constitution would be restored and hoping that discrimination against the Turkish community would be prevented. But, to our regret, during the two-year period when Turkish judges attended the courts not only were the provisions of the Constitution not restored but the unconstitutional law mentioned above was used as an instrument to persecute the members of the Turkish community. The courts were turned into a 'Star Chamber'. Turkish citizens were arrested, brought before the courts on fictitious charges, such as preparing war-like operations, refused bail, and kept in custody for long periods without being brought to trial. Turkish citizens were sentenced to pay heavy fines for carrying a genuinely innocent letter from one village to another. We could give many such examples. All these cases were taken before Greek judges in violation of the Constitution although Turkish judges were available. On the other hand, the Greeks who attacked or even murdered Turks were not even brought before the courts. Those who were brought for minor charges were let scot-free or treated very leniently on the pretext of being members of the 'legal' forces of the State.
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> "As judges, we shall never forget the day when, on 2nd of June 1966, we were stopped at the checkpoint near the law courts. Some of us were prevented from attending the courts and one of us, who had managed to get through, was removed from his chambers at gunpoint and taken back to the checkpoint."

E. Recent disclosures on Greek Cypriot motives on Cyprus

13. Most recently, Clerides, in his book Cyprus: My Deposition (Vol. III), explains how the basis of the "Republic of Cyprus" was destroyed by the Greek Cypriot side. He discloses that during the intercommunal negotiations following the "first coup" in 1963 by the Greek Cypriots against the "Republic of Cyprus", Makarios, believing that Turkish Cypriots could be robbed of their partnership status and of their political equality, did not allow him, as the Greek Cypriot interlocutor, to settle the problem on the basis of a new partnership. On this issue Clerides admits in his book (p. 276)

> "The Greek Cypriots by the term unitary state meant control by the Greek Cypriot majority of all the organs of the state in which all political decisions were taken for the Government of the island. In other words, the Greek Cypriot objective was to establish and secure the economic control of the island for the Greek Cypriot majority."

14. Clerides further explains in his book that the Greek Cypriots destroyed the basis of the existence of the Republic and sought, by force of arms, to reduce the political status of the Turkish Cypriots to that of a minority within a Greek Cyprus. Quoting from Clerides' book, this policy did not succeed "because the Turkish side ... remained unretreating on the issue of accepting a minority status" (p. 237).

15. Furthermore, Clerides reveals that: "just as the Greek Cypriot preoccupation was that Cyprus should be a Greek Cypriot state, with a protected Turkish Cypriot minority, the Turkish preoccupation was to defeat any such effort and to maintain the partnership concept ..." (p. 105).

16. These revelations by Clerides, long-time President of the Greek Cypriot House of Representatives and the current leader of DISI, the largest political party in the South which has the vote of more than one third of the electorate, are sufficient evidence that the bi-communal, partnership "Republic of Cyprus" had no chance to survive since the Greek Cypriots did not have the intention to make it survive. They had other motives incompatible with a partnership State. The Turkish Cypriot side, on the other hand, made all the sacrifices necessary for a viable settlement. Clerides writes on this issue: "The Turkish side would accept to give up some of the constitutional rights it derived from the Zurich Agreements ..." (p. 126).

17. Makarios died in 1977 leaving his political will to Mr. Kyprianou, his successor: "not to go back from the point where he had brought Cyprus", which point was, to Makarios, "the nearest point to Enosis". Mr. Vassiliou took office in 1988 giving written testimony to Akel, the political party which supported him, that he would not deviate from the national line.

II. The Greek Cypriot representative denies atrocities against the Turkish Cypriot people

18. The Greek Cypriot representative must most importantly not forget the Akritas plan prepared by the Greek Cypriot leadership in conjunction with Greek officers in 1963. This was a plan to exterminate the Turkish Cypriot

population which stood as a hindrance to Enosis. The plan aimed at accomplishing its mission "within a day or two before outside intervention would be possible, probable or justifiable". If this is not destroying the bi-communal, partnership "Republic of Cyprus" and denying the Turkish Cypriot people the right to life, then what is! The Akritas plan, however, failed to accomplish its mission in so short a time due to the Turkish Cypriot resistance. The Turkish Cypriot people, however, paid a great human toll and suffered huge material damage in this period. The Greek Cypriot representative could at best try to evade the harm done to the Turkish Cypriot people rather than deny altogether the atrocities committed against them by the Greek Cypriots. This denial is tantamount to rejecting the reports of the successive United Nations Secretaries-General in this respect. We do not deem it necessary to refer to those reports since Greek atrocities are common knowledge.

19. It is hypocrisy to deny that within a few months following the Greek Cypriot onslaught on 21 December 1963, described by political analysts as the "Bloody Christmas", human rights violations of the Turkish Cypriot people occurred on an unprecedented scale: Turkish Cypriot men, women and children were tortured, shot, massacred and forced to flee from their homes and villages to predominantly safer Turkish Cypriot villages or areas. The enclaves which the Turkish Cypriot population had to live in constituted a mere 3 per cent of the island's territory. Properties left behind by 30,000 refugees which amounted to one quarter of the Turkish Cypriot population in these 103 villages were demolished by the Greek Cypriots. Homes, household effects, shops, orchards and farms belonging to the Turkish Cypriots were plundered and destroyed by armed men of EOKA (Greek Cypriot terrorist organization to promote Enosis).

20. The violation of the constitutional rights of the Turkish Cypriot people in this period is referred to in section I of this note.

III. Denial of postal services to the Turkish Cypriot people

21. The Greek Cypriot representative rejects Greek Cypriot denial of postal services to the Turkish Cypriot people since 1963, and concentrates his argument on the notion of the "illegality" of the postal services established by the Turkish Cypriot side in sheer need and in exercise of one of their basic human rights - the right to communicate. In furtherance of oppressing the Turkish Cypriot people and creating the conditions necessary for Enosis, the Greek Cypriots, beginning in 1964, placed the Turkish Cypriot people under siege and, inter alia, deprived them of all the means of postal communication with the outside world. This is what the United Nations Secretary-General of the period reported to the Security Council: "The Government has, since April 1964, sent no international or domestic correspondence or parcels to the Turkish Cypriot sector of Nicosia" (S/5950 of September 1964). By the end of 1966, there had still been no improvement, and the United Nations Secretary-General in his report to the Security Council observed: "In the Turkish sector of Nicosia and Lefka, some 65,000 people had been deprived of postal services since December 1963" (S/7611 of 8 December 1966).

22. Postal embargo continued after 1974, only this time the Turkish Cypriot Postal Department, with a view to circumventing this embargo, began to handle incoming international mail through Mersin, a costal town in southern Turkey. The statement by the Greek Cypriot representative that "as freedom of movement was not allowed by the Turkish Cypriot side, mail was sent, as it is now sent, to the Turkish Cypriots" does not reflect facts.

IV. Denial of freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriot people

23. It is a fact that after 1963 the Turkish Cypriot people were forced into small, isolated enclaves scattered around the island, encircled by hostile Greek Cypriot forces. The reports of the United Nations Secretary-General on the freedom of movement of these people also reflect facts. Below are some of these reports:

(a) "49. Turkish Cypriots compelled for economic reasons to undertake journeys between the towns and outlying villages, are subjected to checks and searches by Greek Cypriot policemen and have little confidence as regards their personal safety." (S/5764, June 1964);

(b) "108. As far as foreign travel is concerned, the situation for Turkish Cypriots has undergone little change in the period under review. Turkish Cypriots are as free to leave the island as Greek Cypriots, but the ban on the return of Turkish Cypriot students from Turkey continued to be enforced ...". (S/8286, December 1967).

24. These restrictions on the freedom of movement of the Turkish Cypriots continued in one form or another until 1974. Since then Turkish Cypriots too have enjoyed full freedom of movement in their territory. However, the Greek Cypriot administration, in a habitual manner, continues to try to restrict the foreign travel of the Turkish Cypriots through an inhuman embargo imposed on Northern Cyprus.

25. As part of this embargo, the Greek Cypriot administration totally prevents the entry into the South of all those third-party nationals who enter the island through ports in the North, and severely restricts the travel of third-party nationals from the South to the North.

V. A note on the Security Council resolutions used by the Greek Cypriot side as a yardstick

26. The Greek Cypriot report refers abundantly to the Security Council resolutions on Cyprus taken in the absence of one of the two sides to the Cyprus dispute without hearing what the absent side had to say. The Security Council has, however, with its latest resolution on Cyprus rectified, albeit belatedly, the harm done to the Turkish Cypriot people. The Security Council has with this latest resolution adopted the right perspective as regards the status and the relationship of each side vis-à-vis the other, and also clarified the basis of the intercommunal talks in Cyprus. This is why the Greek Cypriot side has been at pains to run away from it through a mix of negative actions both at home and abroad.

27. "A ruthless campaign of deceit" is what the Greek Cypriot side is preoccupied with; to the Greek Cypriot propagandists, international forums, especially those specializing in human rights, are venues where they, in the absence of any Turkish Cypriot representative, distort and exploit this issue for political purposes, omitting the pre-1974 period and grossly distorting the post-1974 period.

VI. The ideas of the Greek Cypriot representative on "displacement of persons" and "deprivation of homes and properties"

28. There is a reference by the Greek Cypriot representative to refusal to allow "Greek Cypriot refugees to return to their homes in the now occupied area". That there is no "occupation" in Northern Cyprus has been explained a great many times, and this fact is now acknowledged. For purposes of assisting the Greek Cypriot representative to evaluate the situation in the proper context, it must be pointed out that the negotiating process in Cyprus, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, is not taking place because there is, as is alleged in the Greek Cypriot report, "occupation" in Cyprus, but in order to establish a new partnership between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot peoples.

29. It is ironic that the Greek Cypriot representative should ignore the Population Exchange Agreement of 1975, implemented with UNFICYP assistance, which completes and formalizes the regrouping of the two peoples in their respective zones of the island, the entire Turkish Cypriot population enclaved in the southern part of the island settling in the northern part of Cyprus while the Greek Cypriots settling in the south; and the 1977 Summit Agreement between the leaders of the two peoples formally accepting the above formula, thus paving the way for a bi-zonal solution of the Cyprus question, and should instead insist on the return of the entire Greek Cypriot displaced persons to their homes. In the negotiating process this has never been suggested by the Greek Cypriot side.

VII. The ideas of the Greek Cypriot representative on "Turkish settlers"

30. The Greek Cypriot preoccupation with the Turkish labourers in Northern Cyprus, referred to by the Greek Cypriots as "settlers", stems from their false conviction that the sovereignty of their "Greek Cypriot Republic" extends to Northern Cyprus; hence their allegation that the demographic structure in Northern Cyprus is being changed.

31. Let us see how the Greek Cypriots distort population figures in the South for their convenience. According to the population figures given to the World Bank by the Greek Cypriots in 1986, the total population of Cyprus was 665,000, with a growth rate of 0.7 per cent between the years 1975 and 1984. In the Staff Report of the IMF (SM/89/165) dated 9 August 1989, the total population of Cyprus is shown as 679,000 for that year.

32. On the other hand, the Greek Cypriot "Statistical Abstract" for the years 1987 and 1988 shows the population of the Greek Cypriot community as 559,000 with a growth rate of 0.9 per cent and 1 per cent respectively. This is clearly inconsistent with the low and declining rate of the Greek Cypriot population.

33. A further discrepancy can be observed in the growth rate of the Greek Cypriot electorate: between the years 1981 and 1988 this rate is shown as 2.4 per cent. It is impossible to explain or reconcile this with the growth rate figures mentioned above.

34. In a report published by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (AS/PR(41)19) dated 9 November 1989, the number of Lebanese living in Southern Cyprus is shown as 30,000, based on information given by "sources close to humanitarian organizations".

35. In the Greek Cypriot "Statistical Abstract" (1987-1988) the number of "short-term and long-term immigrants" in Southern Cyprus is given as 10,156, which does not reflect the accurate figure of foreign workers in the South.

36. The above figures clearly show that the Greek Cypriots can distort population figures in accordance with their own needs. It is, on the other hand, incomprehensible why they should make all this fuss about the population of Northern Cyprus.

VIII. Varosha

37. The views expressed in the Greek Cypriot report on Varosha are again based on the wrong perception by the Greek Cypriots regarding the status of this town situated in the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. This town is outside the jurisdiction of the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus.

IX. Missing persons

38. It is by now acknowledged that the Greek Cypriot rhetoric in this regard is nothing but exploitation of this humanitarian issue, and that it serves no other purpose than aggravating the agony of the relatives of the missing persons. Of the 1,619 Greek Cypriot missing persons since 1974, nearly 1,000 were, by their own admission, soldiers killed in combat; nearly 200 Greek Cypriots killed in combat were refused by the Greek Cypriot side for identification and burial during the events of 1974 (Mr. Lellos Demetriades, the then mayor of the Greek Cypriot sector of Nicosia, refused to accept them); a great many were casualties in the Sampson coup of 15 to 20 July 1974 which, in the words of Archbishop Makarios, "caused considerable loss of life and material damage". The Turkish Cypriot side has reason to believe that the list of 1,619 also included coup victims. Referring to the Sampson coup, Archbishop Makarios is on record as saying "We have some 3,000 missing persons. I doubt whether more than a few have survived. We have information that most of them were executed in cold blood."

39. Most importantly, in reply to a question on this issue by a journalist at a lecture organized in Amsterdam on 14 July 1990 by the Foreign Affairs Institute of Holland, Mr. Vassiliou said "... Turkey says these people are dead. I think so too ... ." Hence Mr. Vassiliou's implicit admission that they prolong this issue for political reasons, causing agony to those involved.

40. The Greek Cypriot report does not, on the other hand, mention the 803 missing Turkish Cypriots, all civilians, who disappeared between 1963 and 1974, most of whom were abducted by known Greek Cypriot policemen, soldiers or EOKA gunmen before eyewitnesses. (EOKA, the terrorist organization aiming at the union of Cyprus with Greece, first attacked the British in the 1950s when they were colonizing the island, and then attacked the Turkish Cypriots who were, in their eyes, an obstacle to the annexation of Cyprus by Greece.)

X. Cultural heritage

41. This is another field which is exploited by the Greek Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot people have never wilfully or sytematically caused damage to any of the cultural heritage inherited from different cultures or religions. The corroborative evidence can be found in the report (AS/CULT/AA(41)1 of 2 July 1989) prepared by Senator van der Werff as the General Rapporteur of a fact-finding group assigned by the Committee on Culture and Education of the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe, which visited Cyprus (both North and South) from 21 to 28 June 1989. In contrast, the Greek Cypriot side has attempted to implement, consciously and systematically, the destruction of the Turkish Muslim heritage of the island, parallel to their attempt, in accordance with the Akritas plan, at destroying the presence of the Turkish Cypriots on the island. Over 100 mosques and shrines were destroyed and some of these, like the mosque located in "Seven March square" of Paphos, were razed to the ground and turned into carparks. Examples are multiple.

42. A very important point on this issue, replying to allegations that Turkish Cypriots intentionally damage and destroy cultural heritage in Cyprus, is raised by Senator van der Werff: Scarcity of financial and technical resources and expertise to affect the necessary level of upkeep and protection to a large number of historical and architectural monuments in the North. Paragraph 5.7 of the said report reads: "... The South can and does draw extensively on the international community for financial assistance in restoration work (UNESCO, Getty Foundation, etc.) and the collaboration of the international scholarly community. The North, on the other hand, is cut-off from all such sources of aid and has to rely on Turkey for funds and expertise."

43. The Greek Cypriot representative at the United Nations Office in Geneva, however, alleged in his report that the Turkish Cypriot people get their fair share of international financial aid and credit in all areas through the "Government" in Cyprus. This is nothing but a distortion of facts, and for purposes of putting the record straight, this issue must be clarified with simple arithmetic. The Greek Cypriot side in the period 1963-1973 received $288 million in aid and credit; in the period 1974-1988 this amount rose to $2,479,000,000 of which only $307.3 million were given by Greece; that is to say 87.6 per cent was given by other countries and international institutions.

44. For the Turkish Cypriot people the equivalent amounts were as follows: for the period 1963-1973, $184.1 million of which $178 million were given by Turkey and for the period 1974-1988, $546.1 million of which $494 million were given by Turkey. In other words, 90.5 per cent of this amount was given by Turkey. Do the Turkish Cypriot people then get their fair share in international aid and credit? Judge for yourself!

Conclusion

45. The Greek Cypriot leader Mr. Vassiliou sees no inconvenience in saying "Cyprus is a bastion of Greece. The number of islands which are Greek are many, and Cyprus is one of them"; Mr. Vassiliou described the Turkish Cypriots as 400-year-old "guests" of Cyprus. Almost daily the Greek Cypriot political, military and religious leaders stress that Cyprus is Greek. Bearing in mind the unchanging age-old Greek Cypriot animosity against the Turkish Cypriot people, who are equal co-founder partners of the 1960 Republic and, as the United Nations Secretary-General stressed in his report to the Security Council on 8 March 1990, for whom Cyprus, together with the Greek Cypriots, is a "common home", it is indeed ironical to assert that the Greek Cypriots want a settlement in Cyprus on the basis of partnership with the Turkish Cypriot people. They have destroyed the 1960 partnership State; they have no motive for re-establishing a new partnership.

46. Above all, if the "Republic" existed, then what are the United Nations Secretary-General's mission of good offices and the negotiations all about? Certainly not to patch up the Turkish Cypriot people in the non-existent "Republic of Cyprus" by giving them minority rights; the aim is to make a new constitution and a new partnership.

47. The Turkish Cypriot people believe that to achieve a settlement in Cyprus, the confrontational approach by the Greek Cypriot side against the Turkish Cypriots has to be left behind and replaced by a positive relationship. Counter-productive practices such as the Greek Cypriot political and economic embargo against the Turkish Cypriots, the Greek Cypriot military build-up, exploitation of international forums against the Turkish Cypriot side and distortion of the true nature of the problem must come to a halt if an atmosphere of trust and confidence is to be created on the island.